

" liberty associated with a throne. Danton, who
 " still wished for a place, first conceived the plan of
 " turning France into a republic. There are two
 " ways which may be taken in order to accomplish a
 " great political change in a state. Either the inno-
 " vators produce a change of opinion, which of
 " course changes powers and institutions; or they
 " overthrow institutions and powers, by which a
 " consequent change of opinion is also effected.
 " The first way is the longest, and is to be slowly
 " travelled. The second is not a road but a preci-
 " pice to be passed over; it requires but one bold
 " leap, and but a moment of time. It was the
 " latter which best suited the boldness, the sluggish-
 " ness, the ardent, yet indolent character of Danton.
 " He began, therefore, with disturbing and con-
 " founding every thing. When almost all were
 " anarchists with grand views, requiring for their
 " instruments all the passions of the people; Dan-
 " ton was a greater anarchist than any one else.
 " Petty successes he never contested with any one,
 " and this was the reason why all concurred to aid
 " him in attaining the greatest successes. He had
 " in him something which I cannot describe, but
 " which drew men about him, to make themselves
 " his instruments, and to await his orders. He
 " was, if the phrase may be allowed, a great lord of
 " the rabble. When you first approached him, his
 " figure and voice were terrible. He knew it, and
 " was not ill pleased with the idea; for the more
 " fear he commanded, so much the less ill was he
 " obliged to do. He had that invention, that in-
 " stinctive apprehension of *the great*, which con-
 " stitutes genius; and that silent circumspection in
 " which consists the majesty of reason. His imagina-
 " tion, and that species of eloquence, an eloquence
 " singularly adapted to his figure, his voice, and his
 " stature, were those of a demagogue. His first views
 " of

“ of men and things were quick, correct, and impartial. He possessed that solid practical prudence which experience alone can confer. He knew hardly any thing. He did not pretend to foresee ; but he opened his eyes and beheld. In public assemblies he uttered some expressions which were long remembered. In private company he was silent, and listened with interested attention when those around him talked little, with astonishment when they said a great deal. He excited Camille Desmoulins to speak : he endured the prattle of Fabre d’Eglantine. Such was the man who was almost adored by his friends, and whom his enemies ought to have treated with that delicacy and forbearance which the interests of the republic demanded.”

The following description of him, by an anonymous author^m, will correct the partiality of Garat, and convey, in much fewer words, a full representation of his genius and character. “ I do not pretend to compare Robespierre to Danton. The first was a sanguinary idiot ; he had the genius of a pettifogger, with the soul of a Sylla ; he was a non-descript monster for whom no comparison can be found. Danton had a very crooked mind, but he possessed at heart some sentiments of humanity. He had the instinct, rather than the genius of a great man. His ideas were so exaggerated that *he proposed to put all aristocrats out of the protection of the law.* He concerted the revolutionary tribunal and army, but he directed none of their operations. He was destroyed by his own contrivance, like a child playing with gunpowder. He felt the necessity of creating obstacles, and a resisting power, and in that instance displayed a real greatness of understanding. He

27th Mar.
1793.

^m Tableau des Prisons sous Robespierre.

“ was extravagant, destructive, improvident, cruel
“ in his means, without regularity or foresight ;
“ in these respects he was below mediocrity, and a
“ scourge of his species. Afraid that the chariot of
“ the revolution did not proceed with sufficient
“ rapidity, he kept continually adding fresh horses,
“ till it was carried away into an abyss, and himself
“ crushed beneath the wheels.”

CAMILLE DESMOULINS.

CAMILLE Desmoulins was a fellow-collegian of Robespierre^a, and like him a student of jurisprudence. His society refused to call him to the bar after he had completed his studies, and he was in great distress before the revolution. Desmoulins had some talents, a considerable share of wit, and a knack at versifying; he gained a subsistence by flattering ministers, and occasionally drew scanty supplies from de Brienne and Lamoignon^b. His abilities in this way procured the protection of the duke of Orleans, who employed him for some time before the capture of the Bastille as a coffee-house and garden orator in the Palais Royal^c. He was ill qualified for public speaking, as he had a heavy disagreeable appearance, a painful delivery, a bad ear, and a deficiency of words^d.

His education.

1789.
Patronized
by Or-
leans.

He rendered his party a remarkable service, and was the founder of a distinction which the country has ever since retained. When Pepin, the hawker, was brought wounded into the garden of the Palais Royal, Camille, taking advantage of the public indignation, leaped on a table, with a pistol in each hand, and cried *to arms! to arms!*^e He afterwards made an harangue, in which he advised the partisans

12th July.
Origin of
the na-
tional
cockade.

^a Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 24.

^b Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 125.

^c Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 221. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 15. 17. 172.

^d Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126.

^e See History of the Brissotines, p. 8. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 414. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 204. Lettre d'un François à un Anglois, p. 9, &c.

of freedom to distinguish themselves by a cockade; he wished them to adopt red and blue, the colours of the duke of Orleans, but ashamed to propose it directly, asked what colour they would wear, yellow, red, blue, green? *Green*, contrary to his expectation, was re-echoed by the multitude, and that being, as he called it, the colour of hope, was adopted for the day; but on the morrow, when the national guard was formed, it was changed for red and blue, to which was added, to avoid a demonstration of partiality too decided, a stripe of white¹.

Writes a
journal.

After the capture of the Bastille he became proprietor of a journal, which he called *Le Courier de Brabant*, in which he commenced the practice afterwards more successfully pursued by Hebert and Marat, that of pointing out individuals to the vengeance of the mob; and he assumed, at the suggestion of Mirabeau, the ominous title of *procurcur general de la lanterne*². In this journal he often displayed that coarse kind of wit which is best adapted to the intellects of the vulgar; but his frequent denunciations were attended with the most baleful effects to the peace of society, and excited compunction in his latter days, when, possessed of affluence, he looked back with horror to actions to which he had been impelled by want. He was at this period a furious demagogue³, intimate with the cabinet of the *Palais Royal*, and in the confidence of Mirabeau, with whom he passed a whole fortnight previous to the fifth of October⁴.

He was a violent Jacobin and Cordelier, and carried the atrocity of his journal to such an excess, that Malouet commenced a prosecution against him, and denounced him to the national assembly. When

¹ Conjuraton de d'Orleans, p. 49.

² Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 205. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 94. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126.

³ Pages, vol. ii. p. 15.

⁴ History of the Brissotines, p. 8. 10.

Malouet made his speech, Desmoulins took his seat in the gallery; in the course of the harangue, Malouet apostrophized the delinquent, and exclaimed, "Will he dare to justify himself?" Camille, yielding to the impulse of the moment, and forgetful of danger, replied from his seat, "Yes, I dare;" and instantly escaped; the assembly passed a decree against him, which was, however, repealed the next day. What renders this incident remarkable is, that Malouet's father, in a cause brought before the parliament of Paris, had been similarly apostrophized, and had made the same answer^y. Desmoulins was one of the most active promoters of the petition in the *Champ de Mars*, which occasioned the calling out of the military, and was, in consequence of that transaction, obliged to seek refuge at Marseilles^z. Yet it is probable he only acted venally, as he had continued intimately connected with Mirabeau, after he had sold himself to the court, and with la Fayette, who then opposed the proceedings sanctioned by Camille^a. This affair occasioned his rejection as an elector of Paris for the approaching legislature; he petitioned the constituent assembly on this supposed injustice; Petion supported the petition, but the assembly passed to the order of the day^b.

17th July
1791.
Promotes
the petition,
and
absconds.

5th Sept.

During the sitting of the legislative assembly, he began, in compliance with the prevailing mode, to write in favor of a republic^c; and attended the legislature with a petition against the *veto* opposed to the decree against emigrants, conceived in the most virulent language, and subscribed by three hundred persons^d. He quarrelled with Brissot, against whom he commenced a paper war^e, and attached himself

Becomes a
republi-
can.
11th Dec.
1791.

1792.

^y Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 242, 243.

^z Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 414. Mercure François, No. du 30 juillet 1791, p. 399.

^a Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 153.

^b Debates.

^c Historical Sketch, p. 312.

^d Debates.

^e Mercure François, No. du 19 Mai 1792, p. 208.

to Danton. He and Robespierre were the only Jacobins who opposed the project of hostilities^f. On the disgrace of his friend la Fayette, he deserted his cause, and joined his most inveterate persecutors^g.

10th Aug.
Assists in
the insur-
rection.

He materially assisted the success of the insurrection in August, by preparing the public mind for acts of barbarity, and preaching in favor of anarchy, and a renewal of the Valerian law, which made it allowable to kill a man suspected of disloyalty to the state, provided the crime was afterwards proved^h. As he was not deficient in personal courage, he was, probably, an active assistant in the contest; he was made one of the new council general of the communeⁱ. His friend Danton, while he was minister, proposed to Roland to commence a journal for the purpose of biasing the public mind, under the conduct of Camille; but Roland did not favor the scheme, and the quarrel which speedily broke out between him and Danton entirely frustrated it^k.

Member
of the con-
vention.

By the friendship of Danton, however, he was made secretary to the great seal, and there is reason to believe, that he partook in, or, at least, connived at the massacres of September^l. He was elected member of the convention for Paris, but as a deputy he made no great figure, his eloquence was better calculated for the Jacobin club. The first instance of his exertion which falls under my notice, is his opposition to the decree for banishing for ever the unfortunate emigrants, a measure which he compared to the revocation of the edict of Nantz. On the king's trial he acted like a genuine mountaineer, enforcing the punishment of the king, and opposing

23d Oct.

^f *Mercur* François, No. du 7 Avril 1792, p. 67.

^g See Jordan's *Political State of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 174.

^h Peltier's late *Picture of Paris*, vol. i. p. 37. Moore's *Journal*, vol. i. p. 496.

ⁱ Peltier's late *Picture*, vol. ii. p. 213.

^k Roland's *Appeal*, vol. i. p. 90.

^l See Peltier's late *Picture*, vol. ii. p. 81. 482.

the appeal to the people, and every other measure tending to procure delay or afford a chance of acquittal. In the course of the second *appel nominal*, he lost his temper so far, as to assert that some of the members had been bribed, which drew on him the censure of the convention, and he was called to order^m. His argument against the appeal to the people is published, and exhibits a remarkable specimen of feeble reasoning, and of unrelenting cruelty, affecting patriotism. The plan of a decree with which he concluded his speech, is too remarkable to be omitted. "This," says Camille, "is my plan of a decree: 1. The national convention decrees, that Louis Capet has deserved death. 2. Decrees, in consequence, that a scaffold shall be prepared in the *place du Carrousel*, to which Louis shall be led, with a label on his breast inscribed with these words, PERJURED, AND A TRAITOR TO THE NATION, and on his back another label with the word KING, to shew to all mankind, that the degeneracy of nations cannot, even by a lapse of fifteen hundred years, afford a prescriptive sanction to the crime of royalty. 3. Further decrees, that the vault of the royal family at St. Dennis shall, for the future, be the burying-place of thieves, murderers, and traitors. 4. That the minister of justice, and commandant of the national guard, shall, within four-and-twenty hours, give an account of the execution of this decreeⁿ."

Camille was member of the committee of public safety, but having married a young lady of considerable property, and being otherwise enriched in the course of the revolution, he seems to have neglected public business, and attended very little to the proceedings in the convention. In the progress of the contest between the mountain and the

1793.
17th Jan.

Writes
against the
Brissot-
ines.

^m Debates. ⁿ Robespierre à ses Commettans, vol. ii. p. 62. 90.

Brissotines,

19th May
1793.

Brissotines, he distinguished himself by an answer to Brissot's address to his constituents, which was first delivered as two speeches at the Jacobin club, and afterwards published by the order of that society. It is translated into English, and called "the History of the Brissotines." It is written in a style peculiar to the author, and contains, in a short space, flagitious sentiments, grievous accusations, abject adulation, and forced conceits°. On this pamphlet, it is said, the act of accusation against the Brissotines was founded, and it is called by those who make the assertion, a *sportive* party romance¹. The term *sportive* does not apply to this more than any other writing or speech of Desmoulins, and the facts stated in the act of accusation, which could be derived from that essay, were notorious, and had been often repeated in the convention, in the Jacobin club, and in print. Camille does not, however, appear to have assisted personally in the expulsion and proscription of the duputies; he was not present at the crisis of the dispute; and when, near six weeks afterwards, he was accused of incivism on account of his absence, alleged illness as an excuse.

10th July.

His attachment
to Dillon.
10th and
12th July.

His friendship for general Dillon exposed him to imminent danger; he opposed the decree of accusation against him with great boldness and perseverance; Breard accused him of a connection with aristocrats, of favouring their projects, and absenting himself from the convention¹. This accusation, and his own pertinacity, reduced him to the necessity of submitting his character to the severe scrutiny of the Jacobin club. By the patronage of Robespierre he escaped, because the tyrant had then further occa-

° See History of the Brissotines, an 8vo. pamphlet in 68 pages, published for Owen, Piccadilly, 1794. Also Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 478. n.

¹ See Miss Williams's Letters, vol. i. p. 157. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 167.

² Debates.

sion for his services. He was employed to decry Hebert, which he did with great wit and humour; he brought his journal into such disrepute, and threw so much odium on his person and principles, that he was an easy victim to the revenge or fear of Robespierre. On this occasion, Camille was actuated by no virtuous motive, he merely performed a task; the outlines of his essays are said to have been marked out by his employer, and he was probably selected for the task, because Hebert had exposed himself to his assaults by an unprovoked attack'. 1794.
Writes
against
Hebert.

It is said that he formed a political project with Danton, to relax the system of terror, terminate the revolutionary government, and establish a constitution on such a basis, as to admit the co-operation of parties'. Whether this, or some less extensive and more personal motive guided him, he began, in his paper called *Le Vieux Cordelier*, to condemn the frequency of arrests, and make objections to other parts of the revolutionary system". For this offence he had been reprov'd by Barrere in one of his reports, but the fall of Hebert not being then effected, no farther notice was taken of it. Some time afterwards, he ridiculed St. Just, and observed that he carried his head like the holy sacrament*. This attack and his supposed attachment to Danton exasperated Robespierre, and Camille and Danton were both arrested the same night. against
St. Just.

26th Dec.
1793.

30th Mar.
1794.
Is arrested.

He had so little reason to apprehend that he was devoted to destruction, that he was more affected by Robespierre's unkindness than any other circumstance of his fortune. That dissembling tyrant, the evening before his arrest, had spoken to him with Tried and
executed.

* Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 15. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 126.

† Garat's Memoirs, p. 243. 245.

‡ See Pagès, vol. ii. p. 172. 203. Miss Williams's Letters, vol. ii. p. 25.

§ Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 134.

greater

2d April. greater kindness than ever ^y. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal with Danton and seven more, but knowing the judges, he refused to make any defence, and amused himself by turning his act of accusation into burlesque. The president of the tribunal, embarrassed by this contumacious proceeding, obtained from the convention a decree, enabling him to pass sentence on the culprit, without further investigation ^z. Desmoulins bore his fate with courage and even pleasantry; he wrote just before his execution a tender and affectionate letter to his wife ^a. He suffered death at the age of thirty-three, an age which he made remarkable by a profane allusion to the period of our Saviour's residence on earth ^b. He went to the scaffold indignant at the cowardice of the people, and enraged at having been duped by Robespierre ^c. He

^y *Memoires d'un Déténu*, p. 75.

^z See Miss Williams's *Letters in 1794*, vol. ii. p. 29. *New Annual Register*, p. 356.

^a See journals and news-papers. The wife of Camille Desmoulins was natural daughter of a person of considerable property, endowed with an extraordinary share of beauty. She brought her husband, with whom she lived in a state of exemplary felicity, a considerable fortune. In a few days after his execution she was brought to the same end, by the following circumstance: Arthur Dillon being in prison, and hearing of his friend Camille's arrest, wrote a letter to Madame Desmoulins, expressing his sorrow for her situation, and inclosing a draft for three thousand livres (131 *l.* 5s.). The turnkey, whom he requested to forward the letter, refused to do it, upon which the general slipped it into his pocket; the jailor returned it, and he tore it to pieces. This transaction being, soon after the death of Camille, reported to the committee of public safety, madame Desmoulins was apprehended. Her youth, beauty, and candour, the iniquity of condemning her because a letter had been written which it was proved she never received, were insufficient to save her from the sentence of the sanguinary wretches who sat as judges. She went to the scaffold the 9th April 1794, dressed in white, her eyes yet inflamed with weeping for her husband; but resigned, tranquil, and cheerful. Even the Parisian mob, accustomed to sights of horror, cheered her passage with the consolatory murmurs of commiseration. "How beautiful she is!" "How mild she looks! What a pity she should die!" were general exclamations. She submitted to the executioner with the placid resignation of conscious innocence. See Miss Williams's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 31. 36. *New Annual Register for 1794*, p. 358.

^b Goudemetz's *Epochs*, p. 89. Playfair's *History of Jacobinism*, p. 623, &c.

^c *Memoires d'un Déténu*, p. 73.

made a remark on that tyrant's mode of proceeding which probably precipitated his downfall, by increasing the inveteracy of the party against him. "Robespierre," said he, "*sait des coups percés de la convention.*" A phrase not easily rendered in English, but which alludes to the manner in which persons cut down woods, by marking out certain lots of trees to be felled^d. Camille Desmoulins appears to have wanted steadiness in his party attachments, but never to have meditated seriously the destruction of those he abandoned. His writings are not deficient in sprightliness, but he is far from meriting the eulogium of Pagès, who describes him as a profound and ingenious author, formed on the models of Tacitus and Suetonius, distinguished by originality of style, and by the dexterity with which he handled the keen weapons of ridicule^e. He is allowed to have been endowed with wit, though deficient in prudence^f, and his credulity and simplicity acquired him the title of the La Fontaine of the revolution^g.

^d Miss Williams's Letters, vol. ii. p. 26.

^e Histoire Secrète, vol. ii. p. 171.

^f Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 125.

^g Pagès, vol. ii. p. 172.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DUMOURIEZ.

THE extraordinary rise and rapid fall of Dumouriez have occasioned so much curiosity, and given birth to so many conjectures, that numerous accounts of him have been published, either separately or in the course of other histories. His character is variously portrayed, and every quality, virtuous or vicious, has been profusely attributed or tenaciously withheld. He has published his own life, in which he dilates on his conduct and motives with all the ardor of self-love, and all the complacency of self-approbation. In his exordium, he says of himself, that "in the course of a motley and very active life, he cannot discover a single incident which ought to put him to the blush^b." From a candid examination of facts, of the statements of others, and of his own exculpatory narrative, let us consider how far he is entitled to this eulogium.

In relating the adventures of his early life, I have followed the line laid down in his own biographical production, though not without frequent reference to the publications of others. All his transactions previous to the revolution are compressed as much as possible. His military exploits, except those well known facts which are detailed in the gazettes, belong, as yet, to secret history; and any attempt to speak decisively on the operating motives of himself and

^b Life of General Dumouriez, p. 1.

his adversaries in the campaigns of 1792 and 1793, would only display the temerity of the author. For this forbearance I have a respectable precedent, apositely expressed by Montjoye. He says, "*Je ne dirai pas comme bien des gens, que Dumouriez n'a enfoncé que des portes ouvertes; ce style epigrammatique n'est pas digne de l'histoire; elle doit attendre pour fixer la place de Dumouriez parmi les guerriers, que les événemens militaires auxquels il a eu part soient mieux connus* ¹." I must, however, premise, that his valor is acknowledged even by his enemies, and that a very competent judge, and one who cannot be suspected of favorable prepossession, M. de Bouillé, speaks highly of his military talents ².

Dumouriez ¹ was born at Cambray; his father was descended from the younger branch of a family in Provence, of the *noblesse de la robe*, named Duprier. The numerous family of his paternal grandfather, who had twenty-four sons and eight daughters, induced several of them to assume the name of Mouriez, which belonged to the female branch. The general's father was one of this number, and the name, by Parisian corruption, was afterwards called Du Mouriez.

In his infancy, Dumouriez was feeble and rickety; the faults of his shape were counteracted by irons, and till he was six years old he was drawn about in a little chaise. At that age, a new system was adopted towards him, and he grew up very strong and hardy.

Dumouriez's father was a good scholar, a poet, painter, and musician; he had retired from military service to exercise the office of commissary at war, and took on himself the care of instructing his son

25th Jan.
1739.
His birth
and family.

His feeble-
ness.

His educa-
tion.
1750.

¹ Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 223.

² Bouillé's Memoires relating to the French Revolution, p. 502.

³ Those particulars, for which no other authority is given, are taken entirely from "The Life of Dumouriez, by himself," in three volumes, &c.

in the rudiments of learning. When he had made a sufficient proficiency, the benevolent parent sent him to the college of *Louis le Grand*, and sacrificed nearly one-fourth of a very confined income^m to his improvement and welfare. He remained at the college three years, and then returned to his father, who instructed him in the English, Italian, Spanish, and Greek languages, gave him lessons in mathematics, history, and politics, and employed a master to teach him grammar.

His various projects of establishment.

In these occupations, Dumouriez employed two years: on his return from college he had announced a desire to enter into a monastery; his father readily conceiving that he had imbibed this inclination from the persuasions, and from the system of reading pointed out to him by the Jesuits, did not oppose it by argument, but counteracted it by directing his attention to another course of study. His sagacity was well rewarded, for, in a few months, his son had renounced his intention of becoming a monk. It was then proposed that he should study the law, but he had a latent predilection for the profession of arms. His health requiring exercise, his father sent him to Versailles, where he stayed a year, and learned to ride in the king's riding-house, and to fence in company with the king's pages.

8th Feb. 1757. Joins the army.

At length the seven years war broke out, and Dumouriez's father being appointed commissary, associated his son with him, and they went together to Maubeuge, to join the army. In this campaign, Dumouriez was employed as *aid-de-camp* to the marquis d'Armentiers; but his father being ordered into East Friesland, he was obliged to attend him. He found, however, an opportunity of performing some military exploits, which exposed him to great danger, and in which he received a contusion.

^m This income was eight thousand livres (350*l*.) a-year, and he had two daughters.

After

After the retreat of the French army from the electorate of Hanover, Dumouriez returned to St. Germain-en-Laye, with his father, who was confined with the gravel. His military passion had so much increased, that he privately solicited and obtained a prospect of a cornetcy. With his father's permission, he entered as a volunteer in the *regiment d'Escars*. Several senior volunteers being in the same regiment, he served six months as a trooper; but after the capture of Cherbourg by the English, he took an English officer prisoner, and received a commission. He was employed with seven or eight thousand men to succour Munster, in which he partially succeeded, though the place afterwards surrendered. On this occasion, he received a contusion in the hip from a musket-ball. His regiment was in the next campaign under the command of the count de St. Germain, and formed part of the army with which the marshal de Broglie opposed prince Ferdinand. Dumouriez distinguished himself by his courage, and received, on one occasion, a complimentary gratification of one hundred crowns (12 l. 10 s.). The evening before the battle of Clostercamp, he was taken prisoner, after sustaining several wounds, and defending himself with great obstinacy. His life was saved by Pascal's Provincial Letters, which were in his pocket, and intercepted a musket-ball, but he was wounded over the right eye by a sabre, and received six deep wounds, besides thirteen contusions. He was entertained with great civility by the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who admitted him to his table. He then sent him to Wezel escorted by the baron de Behr, who had saved his life, and who wrote a commendatory letter to the marquis de Castries, which was afterwards very serviceable to Dumouriez.

When able to travel, he was removed to St. Germain-en-Laye, where his father, having been enriched by a considerable legacy, had purchased an estate.

1758.
Obtains a
commis-
sion.

1759.

1760.

31st Aug.

Is wound-
ed and
taken pri-
soner.

Promoted
to a troop
of horse,

April
1761.

1763.
Chevalier
de Saint
Louis.
In love.

estate. He now found the good effects of the baron de Behr's letter, which had induced the marshal de Belle-Isle, just before his death, to recommend him to the king for a troop of horse and a *Croix de St. Louis*. The marshal's successor, the duke de Choiseul, thought two military promotions at once too much, considering the number of expectants, and desired Dumouriez to make his election; he chose the troop of horse, rather against the inclination of the minister, who was besieged by eight hundred candidates for three vacancies; but nevertheless ratified the decision of Dumouriez. As soon as he thought that his wounds were sufficiently healed, he joined his regiment; but suffered great pain from his exertions while only partially cured. He fought during the whole campaign; and though the disputes between the marshal de Broglie and prince de Soubise rendered his duty perplexing, he acquitted himself so well as commander of a detachment, that he received another gratification of one hundred crowns, (12*l.* 10*s.*) besides a beautiful charger, which fell to his share as booty. The two next campaigns produced nothing worthy of observation; and in the ensuing year peace was concluded. The reduction of his regiment occasioned his dismissal; but he was honoured with the *Croix de St. Louis*.

Previous to the peace, Dumouriez had fallen in love with his cousin, who lived with her mother, widow of the marquis de Bellay, at Pontaudemer, near St. Lô, at which place his regiment had been stationed. A rooted antipathy subsisted between his father and aunt, which precluded every hope of obtaining their consent; and the precariousness of his circumstances, together with the want of fortune on the part of the young lady, rendered it necessary to postpone all thoughts of an union till a more favourable period. Dumouriez continued to reside at Pontaudemer, though he dated his letters to his father from St. Lô; but at length the old gentleman discovered

discovered the truth, and wrote a very severe letter to his sister, who immediately sent her daughter to a convent. Dumouriez, in despair, retired to Dieppe, where, after writing to his father a letter of thanks and expostulation, he took fifteen grains of opium. He had scarcely performed this rash act before he was alarmed, and repented : he rose in haste, rushed into the passage where a lamp was burning, and immediately swallowed all the oil. This violent emetic operated instantaneously, and was succeeded by a fainting fit. When Dumouriez recovered he returned to bed ; and after a profuse perspiration awoke the next morning in a state of extreme weakness. He dispatched another letter to his father ; but the first had been too early received : it produced the most violent effects on his constitution, it increased his resentment, and in a considerable degree alienated his affections from his son.

Swallows
poison.

His regiment being disbanded, Dumouriez returned to Paris, and resided in his father's house. He formed a connexion with the celebrated Favier, from whom he derived his knowledge in politics ; and with an amiable young gentleman, named Bullioud, who died of a consumption, and whose memory Dumouriez celebrated by some very indifferent lines, inserted in the *Mercure Français*. Having lost this friend he became tired of Paris, and having collected one hundred *louis-d'ors*, resolved to travel. Before his departure, he waited on the minister, the duke de Choiseul, and apprised him of his intention, requesting a passport and permission to write to the duke, and expressing a hope, that if his letters appeared worthy of attention, he might be appointed to a situation either in the military or diplomatic line. The minister received him graciously, and promised him letters of recommendation. He then wrote to his father announcing his intended departure ; the parent, fearful that he was going to

His resi-
dence in
Paris.

Resolves to
travel.

commit some act of imprudence, went to Paris, and applied to the minister for a *lettre de cachet*; but when informed of the arrangement which had been made, returned home contented.

Arrives at
Genoa.

Dumouriez proceeded on his journey alone, on foot, or in such vehicles as chance presented, writing his observations on the various places through which he passed. He stayed some time at Genoa, where he was well received by M. Boyer, agent of the French republic; and became acquainted with the senator Lomellini, who was afterwards doge.

Affairs of
Corfica.

Supported by the interest of these two friends, he solicited the command of a detachment of five hundred troops, which were sent by the republic to oppose Paoli in Corfica, but was unsuccessful. He then went to Florence, and wrote to Paoli, tendering his services and those of four French officers whom he had met with by accident; but Paoli civilly declined the offer. Dumouriez was, however, determined to interfere in the affairs of the island; and having become acquainted with a young lieutenant named Costa de Castellana, whose father headed a party in opposition to Paoli, he suggested the scheme of erecting Corfica into an independent republic, and promised to secure the indirect assistance of the duke de Choiseul. Had this project succeeded, Dumouriez was promised a very honourable recompence, and the command of the armies.

Oct. 1763.
Returns to
France.

Having settled certain important preliminaries in Corfica, he determined to return to France, and embarked for that purpose; but the weather was so unfavourable, that he was thirty-three days in reaching Marseilles. On his arrival he found that a treaty had been concluded between France and Genoa, which would render his application to Choiseul unavailing. He was not, however, deterred from his project; but arranged a clandestine plan with a ship-builder of Marseilles, called Roux de Corfe, who agreed

agreed to supply the conspirators with arms, ammunition, and cannoners, for which he was to be paid in timber fit for ship-building, which abounds in Corsica.

Dumouriez had now nearly exhausted his little bank of one hundred *louis*, and returned to Paris in great distress, having left his clothes and watch in pawn at Marseilles. On his arrival, he went to his old friend Favier, who received him with great kindness. It happened that Favier was at that time engaged with the Du Barrys and the Genoese minister, in a plan which was diametrically opposite to the views of Dumouriez, namely, to prevail on Choiseul to send to Corsica double the number of French troops which had been stipulated in the treaty with Genoa. Favier was employed to draw a memorial, for which he was promised five hundred *louis-d'ors*. Diffident of his own knowledge, he applied to Dumouriez to furnish him with materials, for which he engaged to give him a hundred *louis*. The unprincipled adventurer accepted this offer, but supplied such false information, that his memorial contained nothing but vague and feeble deductions; this he calls being "alike faithful to friendship and his own plan." Before the delivery of this treacherous composition, he had an interview with Choiseul, at which he endeavoured, by all the arguments a fallacious and dishonest logic could supply, to induce him to forfeit his engagements with Genoa, and favor the secret plans of Roux. The minister was staggered by his reasoning, and dazzled by his representations, he gave some grounds to hope that he would adopt the proposed plans. The opposite party observing some symptoms of this disposition in the duke, redoubled their exertions, and at the next interview, Dumouriez found him as much prejudiced against his plan, as he had before seemed favourable to it. He exhausted his arguments in vain, and at length, as a last effort to realize his brilliant

His intrigues and duplicity.

projects, communicated to the duke the whole secret with which he had been intrusted by the indiscreet Favier. This produced the desired effect; the minister desired him to call the next day, and that he should be expedited to Corsica. Dumouriez now thought himself secure of attaining his point, but Choiseul had disclosed through weakness all that Dumouriez, from motives less excusable, had told him; the parties interested had succeeded in effacing the impression made by his communication, and had inflamed the minister so violently against him, that when he went to the levee the next day the duke assailed him with a torrent of reproach, and indignantly dismissed him as an adventurer.

Leaves
Paris.

This scene took place in presence of many witnesses; Dumouriez having replied with great freedom and asperity to the minister's allegations, began to think himself unsafe in Paris, and quitting the city on foot, repaired to Maubeuge. From this place he determined to proceed to Mons, but first wrote to Favier, requesting him to forward his pormanteau, which, except six *louis*, contained all his worldly goods. The generous Favier, far from harbouring any rancour, sent him an answer conceived in terms of sportive reproof, and acknowledged himself his debtor in the sum of one hundred *louis*, which he promised to transmit to Mons, and in the mean time sent him ten *louis* inclosed in a riband.

Nov.
Arrives at
Mons.

He stayed at Mons a month, from which place he wrote a letter of submission to the minister, requesting a passport, leave to serve in Spain, and letters of recommendation to the French ambassador at Madrid. He inclosed a long memorial relative to Corsica, tending to prove, that "the treaty with Genoa would necessarily produce, in a few years, a war with Paoli." At the same time he wrote to his father, who had been greatly alarmed respecting his quarrel, informing him of the state of the affair, requesting him to discharge a debt of eight hundred

Writes to
his father.

livres

livres (35*l.*), which he had contracted at Leghorn, and to advance him fifty *louis* to enable him to travel into Spain. The parent waited on Choiseul, who retained no anger, but spoke of the journey to Spain as calculated to abate his redundant fire. At the end of a few days he received a packet containing a polite letter from the duke, a certificate of nobility, the king's permission to enter into the Spanish service, letters of recommendation to the marquis de Grimaldi, minister for foreign affairs in Spain, and to the marquis d'Offun, the French ambassador, a very tender letter from his own father, and a bill of exchange for fifty *louis*.

An attention to economy, as well as the severity of the weather, which prevented his crossing the Pyrenees, induced Dumouriez to travel by sea. In the course of his voyage from Ostend to Seville, he rescued a young Spanish lady from the rage of a brutal brother, who harboured such a resentment against him, that at Seville he attempted his life, but his vindictive attempt was defeated, and the Spaniard thrown into prison. On his arrival in Madrid, he was received with great kindness by the marquis d'Offun, who advised him not to be precipitate in seeking military employment, and facilitated his forbearance by allowing him free access to his table, and supplying him with money. He was through him introduced to the whole *corps diplomatique*.

1764.
Goes to
Spain.

While he was passing his time thus agreeably in Madrid, he received several severe letters from his father, and intelligence that his favourite cousin was turned nun, in consequence of having lost her beauty by the small-pox. To dissipate his chagrin, and extend his knowledge, he resolved to visit Portugal, and, to facilitate his favourable reception, determined to make an offer of his services, though in such a way that he was sure they would not be accepted. He performed this journey with great care and minute attention, transmitting his notes

1765.
Visits
Portugal.

and memorandums in cypher to the marquis d'Offun. This expedition engaged him a whole year; he afterwards published the information he had acquired, under the title of "an Essay on Portugal," of which he himself speaks in very high terms, and which he has lately republished.

1766.
Returns
to Spain.

Offered
promotion.

1767.
Falls in
love.

Recalled
to France.
Dec. 1767.

Visits the
minister.

On his return to Spain, he was coolly received by the marquis d'Offun, who considered him as a fickle young man; but Dumouriez reinstated himself in his good graces by "a System of Attack and Defence for Portugal," which he composed in a fortnight. He was offered a lieutenant-colonelcy of a corps of three battalions, but declined it from motives of consideration to a French officer named Chateaufuron, in whose prejudice the offer was made. He remained another year in Spain, during which he cultivated an intimacy with the duke de Crillon and his son, and prince Emanuel de Salm-Salm, who afterwards engaged considerable attention in the course of the revolution. He also formed an attachment for a young lady, who was afterwards married to an alcade, or judge of Valladolid. Though the marquis d'Offun restored to him his countenance, they were not on terms of cordiality, and Dumouriez, in consequence, was very much straitened in his finances.

At length he was recalled to France. The affairs of Corsica had brought his memorial to the minister's recollection, and France having iniquitously purchased a domain which Genoa fraudulently sold, Dumouriez was employed to give effect to the contract by force of arms. On his arrival in Paris he waited on the duke de Choiseul before he visited his father, and was most graciously received. The minister apprised him of his intention to appoint him quarter-master general of the Corsican army, of which the marquis de Chauvelin was to be commander in chief, and requested him to wait on that general to explain his memorial. Being required to prepare

prepare for an immediate departure, he ventured to inform the duke of his pecuniary embarrassments, and of the amount of his debts, which was fifteen thousand livres (656*l.* 5*s.*). The duke presented him with eighteen thousand (787*l.* 10*s.*), and they parted on the most friendly terms.

With this money he went to his father, and refunded all he had advanced, at the same time requesting him to liquidate every other demand, which being done, he was still possessed of a thousand crowns (125*l.*). The next Sunday, Dumouriez and his father went to Versailles to thank the minister, who, at a full levee, and in the most noble manner, apologized for his former harshness. At a subsequent interview, Dumouriez presented to the duke his commission as captain of cavalry, then worth from twelve to twenty-four thousand livres, desiring him to present it to any person he thought proper, reserving only the regulated price, eight thousand livres (350*l.*) in his favor. This handsome sacrifice, and the value of the patronage, were highly acceptable to the minister.

Choiseul's
generous
behaviour.

Dumou-
riez resigns
his cap-
taincy.

On his arrival in Corsica, Dumouriez had an opportunity of rendering a service to the Jesuits, in whose college he had been educated: they were now refugees from Spain, and about to be again transported by the French government.

Assists the
Jesuits.

He dispatched this affair with extraordinary speed, and when he returned to Bastia assisted at a council of war, where he differed in opinion with the commander in chief and all the officers. As his opinion was of a nature which might lead to a suspicion of pusillanimity, he was obliged to exert himself vigorously in the field to efface so unfavorable an impression, and accordingly exposed himself so rashly in storming a redoubt, that Chauvelin, who observed his conduct, frequently exclaimed, "You will see this little good man get himself knocked
"on the head on account of his opinion." It is

1st Sept.
Campaign
in Corsica.

not

not my intention to detail the history of the Corsican war, in which it is sufficient to observe, that Dumouriez behaved very gallantly, though his advice was not followed, and he was frequently opposed and thwarted from motives of pride and envy. He formed a bold enterprise to gain possession of the port of Isola Rossa, in which he failed. He was, on another occasion, put under arrest, through mistake, but liberated, with many apologies. He had previously been offered a brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, and pecuniary gratification, which he refused, but at this period he accepted the money. He also procured the capitulation of the castle of Corte, and was rewarded with one hundred volumes from Paoli's library. The war was at length terminated by the reduction of the island.

Death of
his father.

When Dumouriez returned to Paris, he found his father was dead, leaving him an estate of seventy thousand livres (3062*l.* 10*s.*), which produced about three thousand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*) a-year. To this the minister added a pension of three thousand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*), besides his appointment. He passed the winter at Paris, in company with a few men of wit, and formed an intimacy with the count de Broglie.

Sent to
Poland.

The duke de Choiseul next employed Dumouriez in Poland. He is not very explicit in regard to the object of his mission, but intimates that it took place in consequence of the minister's desire to be exactly informed of what might be expected from the efforts of the Poles, previous to his decision how far France should interfere in their affairs. His enemies assert, that he was employed merely as a spyⁿ; he insinuates that he was sent as minister. His appointments, according to his own account, were extremely liberal; he was allowed twelve thousand

ⁿ Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 9. *Lettres sur la Vie du General Dumouriez*, p. 20.

livres (525*l.*) for travelling expences, and three thousand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*) a-month. He prepared himself for this employ by a laborious study of the affairs of Poland, to which he devoted six hours a-day for three months. Before his departure he had an interview with Choiseul, who communicated to him, with great freedom, his political views, but left his conduct with respect to Poland entirely to his discretion. "I will not give you any instructions," said the duke. "I defy you to give me any," answered Dumouriez; "you know no more than myself what is to be done." The minister laughed at this folly, and they parted in the most friendly manner. July 1770.

The period of his mission was that, when the malecontents were preparing to depose king Stanislaus and to take up arms against the agents of Russia, and when the partition treaty was negotiating. He stayed some time at Strasburg, at Munich, where he made a conditional purchase of twenty-two thousand muskets, and at Vienna, where he was detained by the jealousy and formality of M. Durand, the French minister. At length he arrived at Eperies, where he found the malecontent nobles immersed in debauchery, and careless of their dearest interests. He immediately occasioned a suppression of the pensions they received from France; attempted to introduce discipline and order into their army, formed an intimacy with the countess of Mniezeck, whom he compares to Tasso's Armida, and with Miaczinski, who afterwards served in France. He prepared an extensive plan of military operations for the next year, which was frustrated by the disgrace of his patron, the duke de Choiseul. The duke d'Aiguillon, who succeeded Choiseul, was unfriendly to Dumouriez, though he would not accept his offer to retire. This circumstance rendered his operations in Poland very difficult, and prevented the effect of his vigorous measures. Dumouriez, however, pursued his original His conduct there.
24th Dec.
1770.
1771.

ginal plan with such variations as circumstances required, till he was superseded by the baron de Viomesnil.

Jan. 1772.
Quarrels
with d'Ai-
guillon.

On his return to Paris, he waited on the duke d'Aiguillon, who received him with much harshness, and from whose presence he retired in anger. He next went to the marquis de Monteynard, the minister at war, who was denied to him. Dumouriez, intemperate through rage and impatience, burst open his closet door, and forced himself into his presence. Notwithstanding this intrusion, he succeeded so well in explaining himself, that Monteynard was interested in his behalf; and in the course of four days Dumouriez was put on the staff of the regiment of Lorraine, with a pay of three thousand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*). Being exempt from duty, he divided his time between Paris and Versailles, and wrote several treatises and memorials.

Attempt
to recon-
cile them.

On the return of the marquis d'Offun and the duke de Crillon to Paris, they attempted to reconcile the duke d'Aiguillon to Dumouriez; the minister sent him a draft for three thousand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*) as a gratification for his services in Poland, which Dumouriez returned, observing that it was either *too much or too little*. This cavalier behaviour frustrated the proposed accommodation, and left Dumouriez to the patronage of the war minister only, and exposed to the hatred of the duke d'Aiguillon.

Sent to
Ham-
burgh.

When the revolution in Sweden broke out, Louis XV. who was much attached to Gustavus the Third, and entertained apprehensions that the party in opposition to him would call in the aid of Russia,

* It would occupy too much space, and is foreign to the principal object of this work, to detail all Dumouriez's operations in Poland during these two years. The reader is referred to his *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 184 to 298; and for a general account of the affairs of Poland and transactions of this period, at once succinct, interesting, and satisfactory, to Cox's *Travels in Poland*, &c. vol. i.

resolved to assist the king with seven millions of livres (306,250 *l.*), or seven thousand men. Dumouriez wrote a memorial on the occasion, in which he recommended the sending of troops instead of money, and proposed a plan for raising them entirely in foreign countries. Monteynard carried this memorial to the king, who directed that Dumouriez should be employed, without d'Aiguillon's knowledge, to go to Hamburgh, and ascertain the practicability of the scheme. Dumouriez remonstrating with Monteynard on the danger of incurring the displeasure of d'Aiguillon, the king impatiently insisted on seeing him. He was presented the same evening: Louis XV. said, "Set out for Hamburgh, and execute Monteynard's orders;" and without waiting for a reply, withdrew. When Dumouriez arrived at Hamburgh, he found that the revolution in Sweden was achieved without bloodshed; he continued, nevertheless, to correspond with Monteynard, but being surrounded with spies placed over him by d'Aiguillon, some letters written by his friends in France were intercepted; he was arrested, though in a free city, conveyed to the *Hotel de France*, where he remained nine days, and from thence escorted to Paris, and lodged in the Bastille, together with his two servants ^p.

Arrested
and sent
to the
Bastille.
13th Sept.

At the name of the Bastille, every Englishman feels an anxiety, proportioned to his well-founded detestation of such places of confinement, to investigate every particular of the prisoner's treatment. Having, in another place, displayed the sufferings of state prisoners subsequent to the revolution, I shall, as a contrast, abridge Dumouriez's own account of his reception and mode of life in the Bastille, leaving to the reader to make his own comparisons and reflections. It is, however, to be recollected, that

^p Bastille dévoilée, 4^e livraison, p. 12. Dumouriez says he entered the Bastille the latter end of October, but it is of little importance.

Dumouriez

Dumouriez was particularly obnoxious to the minister by whose orders he was arrested.

His reception.

Dumouriez was conveyed to the Bastille at nine o'clock at night ; he was received by the major, and underwent a minute search ; his money, knife, and shoe-buckles were taken from him. The reason assigned for the latter privation was, that a prisoner had strangled himself by swallowing the tongue of a buckle ; yet with all this sagacity they left him his knee-buckles. The search and enumeration of his effects took up an hour and a half. Dumouriez then complained of hunger, and required a fowl might be sent for from the next tavern. " A fowl," said the major ; " do you know that this is Friday ? " " You are entrusted with my person only, and not my conscience," answered the prisoner. " I am ill ; for the Bastille itself is a malady : do not, therefore, refuse me a fowl." He was accordingly indulged.

Apartment.

The place of his confinement was an octagonal chamber, about fifteen feet in every direction, and twenty-five in height ; the only window, which was twenty-two feet from the floor, and opened in three different parts, was a narrow embrasure, at least fifteen feet thick, guarded with double rows of massy iron bars. All the moveables consisted of an old bed, with serge curtains, very dirty and uncomfortable, a *chaise percée*, a wooden table, a straw-bottomed chair, and a pitcher. A turnkey, or jailor, who was a robust man, with a clownish aspect, lighted a fire, left a candle, and retired. When Dumouriez inquired if he could not have a better chamber, the jailor assured him that it was one of the best in all the *tower of liberty*, for, by a refinement in barbarity, they had given that name to one of the towers of the Bastille. Struck with this reflection, Dumouriez said, laughing, " It appears to me, that in this charming habitation, they add a biting kind of sauce to their hospitality." The observation was repeated

repeated by the turnkey, and inserted in a register, where all the smart sayings extorted by anguish, vexation, or surprise, from the unfortunate, were carefully recorded.

The next day he was awakened by the noise of keys used in opening two very thick doors, fortified with plates of iron. Bread and wine were brought for his breakfast, and he was apprised that at nine o'clock he must wait on the governor. Dumouriez was conducted before him by a serjeant, and four invalids. The governor, the count de Jumilhac, was an old officer, and a man of pleasure, kind, sensible, and well informed. He told Dumouriez, that the king allowed fifteen livres (13*s.* 1*d.*) a-day for him, and three (2*s.* 7*d.*) for each of his servants, so that if he was not well treated he might prefer his complaint to him. He also said, that, in conformity to the regulations of the Bastille, he would be considered as a close prisoner, until his first examination had taken place; that no person was allowed to converse with him, or answer questions; and that, in strictness, he ought not to be allowed pen, ink, or paper, or any book whatever, not even a prayer-book. "But," added the count, "I am too much interested in your behalf to conform strictly to this rule. I am too old to visit you in your apartment. I shall, therefore, require you to descend every morning into this hall: carry these two volumes with you, and conceal them." Dumouriez saw the governor every morning, who not only furnished him with books, but recounted the anecdotes of the gay world. He carried his attention so far as to supply him with a small quantity of lemons, sugar, coffee, and foreign wines; he also sent him a dish from his own table when he dined at home.

Kindness
of the go-
vernor.

The ninth day of his detention, Dumouriez was examined before three commissioners, attended by a secretary. He was permitted to enter a protest against

Dumou-
riez's ex-
amina-
tions.

against any advantage which might be taken of his examination, so as to preclude a legal trial, and against the solicitation or intervention of his friends or superiors. He refused to answer any question which was not previously committed to paper, or to permit his replies to be inserted in any other words than those pronounced by himself. He underwent, in the course of two months, four examinations, in the course of which the commissioners displayed much art in their endeavours to ensnare him in contradictory assertions, and he evinced no less firmness and sagacity in concealing facts which he wished to remain unknown, and eluding unfavourable constructions. He was enabled to be thus consistent in his answers by a singular artifice: at the end of every examination, he engraved on the walls of his apartment, with the tongue of his knee-buckle, the questions asked by the commissioners, and his own answers. To prevent discovery, he used arbitrary signs and abbreviations, and put every word in a different language. In these circumstances, a person endowed with less courage and presence of mind than Dumouriez must have betrayed himself and his friends to inevitable destruction, from the want of recollection, and of spirit to oppose the misrepresentation of answers set down in equivocal terms, and perverted in their meanings.

On his second examination, Dumouriez, in answering a ridiculous question put to him by the commissioners, "Whether he hated the duke d'Aiguillon?" dictated eight separate charges against him for ministerial misconduct. At the end of his last examination, Marville, one of the commissioners, said to him, with a barbarous jocularly, "You are a man of courage, therefore I will not conceal from you that M. Monteynard has been disgraced; that the duke d'Aiguillon is more powerful than ever, and that he unites the war department with that for foreign affairs: you are, therefore,

“therefore, entirely in his power, and may expect
 “to remain in prison for at least ten years.”
 “M. de Marville,” answered Dumouriez, “you
 “have surely read la Fontaine, and must remember
 “the fable of the emperor, the ass, and the mounte-
 “bank. Before the expiration of ten years half of
 “you will not be alive, much less in office.” *Nota*
 “*bene*, you, yourself, are more than seventy years
 “of age.” This reply vanquished the brutal com-
 missioner, and he embraced the man he had before
 insulted. To contrast this trait, an action of M. de
 Sartines, *lieutenant de police*, and also one of the
 commissioners, ought to be mentioned. After his
 first examination, Dumouriez required some books
 from his own library: he offered to give a list of
 those he wanted, saying he had six thousand volumes
 at Versailles. “You do not recollect,” said M. de
 Sartines, coolly, “that at your departure you re-
 “quested your aunt to sell all your books and move-
 “ables: you have no longer any left.” Dumouriez,
 who had made the request on a presumption that his
 apartments had been sealed up, held down his head;
 and the next day de Sartines informed him he had
 invented this benevolent fiction to prevent the se-
 questration of his property by his brother com-
 missioners.

Pending these examinations, Dumouriez had quar-
 relled with his gaoler, who was stout, athletic, in-
 solent, and choleric. This man treated him with great
 indignity, addressed him contemptuously, (*thou’d*
 him,) and threatened to strike him. The prisoner
 sprang towards the chimney, and seizing a firebrand,
 knocked him down. The quarrel was referred to
 the major, who seemed inclined to favour the turn-
 key; but Dumouriez appealed to his friend the
 governor, who took cognizance of the dispute; and
 was with difficulty prevented, by the intreaties of
 the prisoner himself, from turning the man out of
 his office.

Beats the
turnkey.

His contrivance to get a better room.

After the fourth examination, Dumouriez, considering that he was likely to remain a great while in confinement, exerted himself to obtain a better apartment, and the society of his two servants. He had been informed by M. de Sartines that he could not be gratified without the consent of the duke de la Vrilliere, the minister for Paris, who was d'Aiguillon's uncle. Knowing that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, Dumouriez asked what would be done if any accident happened to render his apartment uninhabitable? "In that case," said Sartines, "you would instantly be removed to another; and as it is attended with no danger, I will engage to give you the best in the Bastille." Availing himself of this hint, Dumouriez resolved to render his chamber untenable. Perceiving that one side of his hearth was sunk below the level of the other, he expected to derive advantage from this circumstance. The hearth consisted of two large stones joined together at the centre, and supported by a beam, which the great heat had reduced to charcoal. Concluding there was a cavity below, he one morning, between the hours of two and six, forced up the floor of his apartment; and by means of a billet of wood, which he used as a battering ram, made a hole through the ceiling below. In the room to which he thus opened a communication, he beheld a person about fifty years of age, stark naked, with a long grey beard, and his hair standing on end, who howling dreadfully, dashed the gravel at him with great violence through the hole whence it had dropped. He wished to speak to this unhappy wretch, but found that he was mad. He learned afterwards that his name was Eustachius Farey, a gentleman of Picardy, and captain in the regiment of Piedmont, who had been confined twenty-two years in the Bastille for having either composed or distributed a song against madame Pompadour. Having at length forced the two large stones

Adventure attending it.

stones and gravel through the hole, Dumouriez called the sentinel, and prevailed on him to awaken the turnkey. On being taken before the governor, he stated that the stones had fallen through owing to the calcination of the beam by extreme heat. The account was credited, and the room called the chapel was immediately allotted to him. When the guards had retired, he told Jumilliac the truth; and both he and de Sartines, to whom it was afterwards communicated, laughed at the adventure.

His new apartment was twenty-six feet long and eighteen broad, with a good fire-place, a neat bed, and an antichamber; but the room was dark, as it had but one window. In a few days he obtained an order for the removal of his servants, who were very happy to join him. His removal,
and that of his servants.

Dumouriez now fared extremely well; his dinner, which always consisted of five dishes, and his supper, composed of three, besides the dessert, were served up together, and made a magnificent appearance. His valet prepared excellent ragouts; and their situation banishing all restraint, the three prisoners took their meals together. But the charms of such society soon wore off, and Dumouriez began to repent having obtained it. He had philosophy enough to stifle his own regrets at the loss of liberty; but his companions, less occupied, and less able to sustain the privation of enjoyments, frequently brought him to a lively sense of his situation by lamenting theirs. He was obliged to leave his studies to amuse them: he taught them games at cards and chess, and read romances and travels to them one hour in the morning and two at night. He was, however, attacked with a sciatica, and confined a week to his bed, and then became fully sensible of the value of their company and assistance. His mode of living.

He was furnished with whatever books he required from his own library; and, during his confinement, wrote a tract on war, intitled "Military Principles;" Literary employments.

and also a "Treatise on Legions." He also projected a large work, the hint of which was furnished by Bayle: this was a compression of all the books of travels extant, arranged topographically, and divided into centuries, with comparisons between the country visited, and the native place of the traveller at the period of writing. This he termed "A Philosophical Essay on Travels:" he acknowledges that a man must be in the Bastille to undertake a work of the kind; and perhaps a similar confinement would be necessary to induce any one to read it. He made no beginning of this work, though he wrote a preliminary discourse; but he drew up "a political and commercial Memoir relative to Hamburgh and Lower Saxony;" and completed a translation into French verse of the twenty-fifth canto of *Morgante Magiore*.

Corresponds
with
Favier.

State of
the Bastille.

Such were Dumouriez's employments in the Bastille. He found means to discover the apartment in which his friend Favier was confined, and to correspond with him by secreting letters in fissures of the wood sent to make his fire. His servants suggested to him a mode of ascertaining the number of prisoners in the castle, which I copy with his own observation. "It being winter season, as many heaps
" of wood were brought every Saturday to the foot
" of each tower, as there were apartments inhabited
" there. By attending to this circumstance, he
" learned to calculate the number of his companions
" in misfortune. Every day at noon the turnkey
" also placed at the foot of each staircase, as many
" baskets containing plates as there were prisoners.
" These were, at that time, far from being numerous;
" for there were never more than nineteen
" during his confinement, and several days there
" were but seven. Accordingly this terrible Bastille,
" at least at that epoch, did not swallow up so many
" miserable wretches as was imagined. Since the
" Jacobins have come into power, notwithstanding
" the

“ the continual executions that have taken place, the
 “ dungeons of Paris always contain three, four, or
 “ five thousand unhappy people, whose lives depend
 “ on the turn of a straw.”

Notwithstanding Marville's insinuation, Dumouriez did not omit, at the end of every fortnight, to send, by the hands of Sartines, a letter to the king, requesting the nomination of judges, and a trial. This perseverance at length produced the desired effect; the king ordered d'Aiguillon to make his report to council respecting Dumouriez and his supposed confederates; intimating, at the same time, that they were not guilty, and had been too long confined. D'Aiguillon, influenced by this hint, made a favourable report; he spoke of Dumouriez as a good officer, but exceedingly petulant, and incapable of subordination. The prince de Soubise undertook his defence; and the king testified his merits, ordered the continuation of his rank and appointments; and, as the minister had suggested the propriety of his banishment from Paris, directed that he should be sent to the castle of Caen, and have the whole province of Normandy for a prison. Thus, at the end of a confinement of six months, Dumouriez was liberated from the Bastille. Before his departure he executed a very benevolent finesse. Remembering the anxiety he had suffered from the want of means to preserve his thoughts and recollections by writing, he took care to supply that deficiency to his successors. In the four corners of his apartment were four columns that supported the ceiling, which was no more than nine feet from the ground. Each column was surmounted with the figure of a sphinx. He climbed up by the assistance of chairs and tables, and placed in a hollow on the back of each of these sphinxes, an oyster-shell full of ink, some sheets of paper, and several pens. He wrote on the base of each column “ Search above
 “ for the explanation of the *enigma* ;” and on the

The minister's report.

7th Mar.
 1774.
 Exiled to Caen.

His benevolent finesse.

back of one of the sphinxes, left a short direction relative to the manner of keeping up a correspondence by means of billets of wood.

Arrives
in Nor-
mandy.

The third day after his discharge from the Bastille, Dumouriez arrived at the castle of Caen, where he was received and treated with the utmost attention. It was not the least singular part of his destiny that the *lettre de cachet* which banished him to Caen, placed him near his cousin, for whom he had formerly felt so tender an affection. At the period of his departure for Poland, he had offered to marry her; but she was then intent on taking the veil, and refused him. The rigorous life of a nun being prejudicial to her health, she renounced it; but still resided in a convent, where she practised the most austere devotion. Dumouriez did not visit her till

Visits his
cousin.

four days after his arrival; and at their first interview they trembled like two criminals: they agreed to live on a footing of friendship, and see one another but seldom. Soon after this resolution the lady fell ill of a fever, and the rules of the convent not being strict, Dumouriez attended her, and became her nurse during twenty-eight days. On her recovery, he obtained a dispensation from the pope, and a permission from the minister at war, and espoused her. The marriage was unhappy: it embroiled them with many of their friends, and terminated in a separation which took place at the lady's own request, in 1788. She received all her jewels, half their common property in plate and effects, and an annuity of five hundred livres, (21 l. 17 s. 6 d.) with which she retired to a convent in Paris. Dumouriez imputes their infelicity to her ill-temper; while his enemies attribute to him much harshness, cruelty, and insensibility.

13th Sept.
1774.
Their
marriage,
and separation.

Proceed-
ings
against
him set
aside.

Before his marriage he obtained a complete reversal of all the proceedings against him. Louis XV. was dead; and on the accession of his grandson, Dumouriez wrote to the new ministry, requesting

that

that he might be recommitted to the Bastille; that his process might be resumed, and legal judges appointed for his trial. This the ministers graciously declined; and, after a short time, all the papers relating to the pretended conspiracy in which he had been implicated, were withdrawn from the registers of the Bastille. Dumouriez was ordered to attend the court at Compeigne, where M. de Mury, the new war minister, at a full audience, informed him that the king, concerned for his long and unjust imprisonment, had charged the minister to indemnify him, by employing his talents in a way that might be useful. At a private meeting he presented him with a similar declaration in writing. Another paper was also transmitted to him, containing an extract of the report signed by three ministers, acquitting him of every imputation¹.

Soon afterwards the Prussian manœuvres were introduced into France, and Dumouriez received a strong indication of the sincerity and benevolence of his sovereign. Thirty officers were selected to instruct the army in these manœuvres; and although a thousand general officers and twelve hundred colonels were out of employment, he was amongst the thirty nominated on the occasion. During the two succeeding years, he was engaged in schemes which his knowledge, as an engineer, rendered him capable of undertaking in time of peace; and in one less appropriate to his former avocations, that of soliciting a law-suit for M. de Montbarey against the prince de Marfan. He also translated from the Italian a work called "*Vita di Benevenuto Cellini scultore fiorentino*;" and from the German, the Lives of Charles XII. Renschild, Steinbock, Duker, Meyerfeldt, and others.

1775-6-7.
Benevo-
lence of
Louis
XVI.

Dumou-
riez's em-
ploy-
ments.

¹ It is worthy of observation that Dumouriez assisted in composing the funeral eulogy of Louis XV. who had imprisoned and exiled him; how he rewarded Louis XVI. who acted so generously towards him, and loaded him with favors, will be seen in the sequel.

They were never printed; and the MSS. are probably destroyed.

Jan. 1778.
Made
command-
ant of
Cher-
bourg.

He was employed in drawing up a memorial relative to the formation of a port in the channel, in which he demonstrated the superiority of Cherbourg to every other situation. Before the war, this memorial was inspected by the king, who, struck with the goodness of the plan, wrote in the margin with his own hand, "Dumouriez commandant of Cherbourg." Thus was this appointment (the third instance of kindness from a sovereign to whom he had rendered no particular services) created on purpose for him. It was accompanied with a house, and a salary of six thousand livres (262*l.* 10*s.*), which, in addition to his other appointments, his pension, and his income, produced twenty-three thousand livres (1006*l.* 5*s.*) a-year, and a fixed establishment. At this place Dumouriez passed the ensuing years of his life till the revolution. In this interval nothing occurred to merit a particular detail; he employed himself assiduously in the affairs of his post. When the king made his celebrated journey to Cherbourg, he presented to Dumouriez a snuff-box with his portrait enamelled on the lid. During the residence of Dumouriez at Cherbourg, the inhabitants increased from seven thousand three hundred to nineteen thousand.

Observa-
tions on
his con-
duct and
narrative.

Hitherto I have pursued the account given by Dumouriez himself, without minutely investigating his statements, or interposing conjectures respecting the truth of his narratives, where I had no certain facts to substantiate a contrary opinion. The vanity and self-preference of Dumouriez expose his narrative to the attacks of incredulity; and were the various parts of it critically compared, several contradictory assertions might be discovered. To avoid prolixity, I have not entered into such discussions, but have adopted those accounts which appeared most probable,

bable. The author of "*Lettres sur la Vie de Dumouriez*," in descanting on this part of his memoirs, ingeniously observes, that in all the scenes from which he affects to derive celebrity, he has named as his associates persons who have long been dead, by which means he is secure against a direct contradiction; but adds, and illustrates the assertion by many instances, that he falsifies characters, and errs in his description of events, men, and manners.

But if these points are not worth examining unless for the sake of ascertaining his veracity, his conduct since the revolution is to be considered in a different light; as from the conspicuous part he acted, and the pains he has taken to vindicate his conduct, it becomes interesting and necessary to the historian of the times to developé his real views. Dumouriez labours to persuade his readers that he was ever loyal to his sovereign, and desirous of his welfare; that the measures which he pursued, however they might be misconstrued, tended to that sole end. Others assert that he was a designing intriguer, a Jacobin in the most violent sense of the term; a republican in external appearance; though, in reality, the devoted tool of Orleans'. I subscribe to the latter opinion; and as the subsequent part of the narrative will receive much of its colour from that judgment, it may be proper to examine its foundation. That Dumouriez was an intriguer, and professed sentiments that did not really influence him, sufficiently appears from his whole life; the most partial reader must confess that he cannot, with all his address, disguise this fact; though he softens the harshness of the avowal by repeated professions that he only accommodated himself to circumstances in the hope of rendering

* See the Histories and Journals. Dumouriez Unmasked, passim. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 223. vol. iii. p. 147. 167.

* Louvet's Narrative, p. 24. Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 86.

* Dumouriez Unmasked, passim. Pagès, vol. i. p. 458. vol. ii. p. 12. Conjuraton de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 223, 224.

effectual

effectual services to his king and country. This excuse would apply most particularly to his professions of jacobinism and republicanism; but such a defence destroys his claim to integrity and truth; and those professions were made at a period when the cause to which he pretends to have been constantly attached was not so desperate as to require such sinister services. These facts will be illustrated by his history. But the point on which I lay the greatest stress is his being an Orleanist, an imputation which he strenuously denies, and which his opponents no less steadfastly assert. I shall not here examine their assertions; but relate such of the facts as appear important in their due order, confining myself for the present to a review of his defence. In relating his adventures, Dumouriez frequently enumerates the persons with whom he formed an acquaintance or cultivated an intimacy. He was at Paris in the winter of 1788, when the events of the revolution were in a state of considerable forwardness. He was almost an inmate at the palace of the duke^a; and his most intimate friends were those men who were the agents and supporters of that infamous prince. He frequented a political society where the Crillons and others, whose attachment to Orleans is well known, were leading members. He wrote pamphlets and instructions to the Bailliages, and formed the closest friendship with Latouche, who, to use the expression of Dumouriez, was *unfortunate enough to be chancellor to the duke of Orleans*. On his return to Cherbourg he was so explicit in his sentiments that his attachment was notorious; and the duc de Beuvron spoke to him of his *friends*, naming at the same time the *forty-seven* nobles who first deserted their order, and several other persons in the duke's interest. When Dumouriez quitted the army, he wrote to the convention that *he was totally ignorant of the*

^a Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 19.

existence of an Orlean's faction, and that he never had any connexion with that prince^x. It will not be easy to believe that he had no connexion with Orleans, when it is recollected that a close connexion subsisted between him and Latouche, the chancellor, Valence the brother^y, and the dukes of Chartres and Montpensier, sons of the man he affected to disclaim. But his pretended ignorance of the conspiracy is confuted by his own declarations. Writing of the year 1789, he says: "Mirabeau, *who had acquired the confidence of the duke of Orleans, and by his means of the populace of Paris*, was about to become the head of a formidable party^z."

When the Orleans faction was preparing its grand exertions; when the corruption of the army was undertaken, and conducted with the utmost eagerness and address; Dumouriez became an adherent of that worthless prince. Madame Sillery made a journey to Cherbourg, accompanied by her pupils, the duke's children. Dumouriez affected in public the greatest disregard of the visitors, but in private he was assiduous in his attentions and civilities. In the winter he went to Paris, to concert schemes favorable to the conspiracy^a. He was anxious for the assembling of the states general, and might have been a deputy himself, had he desired it. He wrote a pamphlet on the contested subject of voting by orders or by poll. Of this he gives no extract; but his principles, however, are sufficiently denoted by his declaration, that during the whole year 1789, the conduct of the third estate was *prudent, noble, and moderate*! This from a pretended royalist!

On his return to Normandy, he was so open in his expressions, as to excite considerable jealousy and suspicion. He foresaw the approaching ascendancy

August
1788.
Conduct at
the revolu-
tion.

Return
to Cher-
bourg.

^x See his Letter, dated Frankfort, 20th April 1793.

^y General Valence was a natural son of the duke's father.

^z Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 15.

^a Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 18.

of the populace, and therefore used every means to ingratiate himself with them, and become their idol. He augmented, if he did not excite, the prevailing dislike against the d'Harcourts, by whom he had been much favored and protected, and encouraged the military in their resolution to disobey orders. During the period of agitation and suspense which immediately preceded the 14th of July, he acted with mysterious duplicity. He discouraged the true adherents of the king from uttering any expression which indicated a hope of success, and yet communicated a well-framed plan for the blockade of Paris, and the security of the monarch. After the taking of the Bastille, he became more decided in his conduct, promoted the views of the insurgents at Caen and throughout the province of Normandy, and recommended the civil and military commanders not to oppose the formation of a national militia. Cherbourg was the scene of frequent commotions, which dated their commencement from the period of his return, and which he generally succeeded in dispelling with such facility as increased the suspicion that he had fomented them. He accepted the situation of commandant-general of the national guard; but the jealousy of the nobles increasing, and the assembly having suspended the payment of all appointments, he resigned his command, and returned to Paris.

Nov. 1789.
Goes to
Paris.

His em-
ployments.

1790.
Advice to
the king;

Soon after his arrival, he was introduced to the Jacobins by Crillon, and formed an acquaintance with Barrere. He drew up some political essays on the emancipation of negroes, in opposition to Mirabeau, and on the property of the clergy, which he appears to have discussed in a presumptuous and superficial manner. His friend Laporte being made steward of the king's household, Dumouriez transmitted through him a note to the king, advising him to repair to the assembly without previous notice, and take a voluntary oath to maintain the constitution.

tion. Dumouriez pretends that this letter induced the king to take that step in February 1790. The advice was either treacherous or absurd. To advise the king, for the purpose of acquiring popularity, to take the oath, was delivering him up bound into the hands of the national assembly. The constitution was not yet formed. If it should prove a good constitution, the king might swear to maintain when his judgment approved it; but if weak, contradictory, and impracticable, the unfortunate monarch would be reduced to a dreadful situation, by swearing to support such a constitution even before it was promulgated. It is singular that Dumouriez should avow himself the author of this measure, because it was the foundation of those ridiculous charges of perjury, with which the king was afterwards assailed.

To advise was the rage of Dumouriez; it seems to have influenced his whole life. He next advised the queen. ^{to the queen.} He next advised the queen to permit the Dauphin to enrol himself amongst a battalion of boys belonging to the *Rue de Montmartre*, in which Dumouriez lodged; and assigned as a reason, that it would gain popularity amongst the *good wives* of the neighbourhood. The queen refused the proffer with honest indignation. She recollected with gratitude the services and deaths of the faithful *gardes du corps*, and expressed an invincible repugnance to see her son dressed in the uniform of their assassins. Dumouriez blames her for not temporising, and justifies his advice by a recurrence to subsequent events. Such advisers and such reasoners deserve nothing but disdain.

During the residence of Dumouriez at Paris, the club of *Feuillans* was formed in opposition to the Jacobins, but though invited by his friend Crillon, he would not join this society. He was at this time much distressed in his finances, and obliged to sell his plate for an immediate supply. He found a farther resource in the fortune of a female friend with whom ^{His circumstances.}

whom he lived; he nevertheless contracted many debts. His resignation of the command of the national guard, and his pecuniary embarrassments, may appear to refute the opinion, that he was devoted to the duke of Orleans; but at this period Orleans was in England, and Dumouriez, destitute of fortune, and eager for promotion, was ready to sell his services to the first purchaser.

Goes to
Belgium.

He was consulted by the colonial committee, and offered the command of six thousand men intended to restore tranquillity in the colonies, but declined the service. Dumouriez had now rendered himself serviceable to la Fayette, and acquired his confidence. By him he was employed to examine into the state of the Belgic insurrection, and to endeavour to render it favorable to the interests of the French, by occupying the attention and efforts of the emperor, and preventing his interference in their affairs. He went into Belgium accompanied by two members of the Belgic congress, and in character of a person *secretly acknowledged* by the ruling power in France. He found, however, the situation of affairs such as to frustrate the hope of fulfilling the object of his mission. He wrote two memorials, in which he is said to have recommended an insidious and treacherous accommodation^b, and returned to his own country after an absence only of seventeen days.

Returns to
Paris.

He remained some time longer in Paris, without employment, endeavouring to recommend himself to those who might be instrumental in his advancement, particularly la Fayette and Laporte, and was so cautious not to offend the ruling powers, that he discontinued his visits to the Jacobin club, and his name was erased from the books of the society. He drew up a plan for the organization of a national guard, which was referred to a committee of the assembly, but not adopted; and it was proposed to

^b Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 28.

entrust him with an important commission to Lyons, Turin, and Switzerland; but, partly through the jealousy of Montmorin, and partly through the imprudence of the committee of public safety, who divulged the intended appointment, so that it was inserted in Brissot's journal, the king refused to ratify it.

Orleans was now returned, but Dumouriez did not immediately rejoin his standard. He had been courted by several parties, particularly by Mirabeau. He was inclined to promote his plan of a counter-revolution, and had written to the king in such terms as to obviate all objections to an appointment which might be proposed for him. His part was already fixed, when the unexpected death of Mirabeau put an end to the project. When Dumouriez after this event waited on Montmorin, and mentioned the intended arrangement, the minister, alarmed at the death of Mirabeau, and perhaps apprehensive of treachery, disclaimed all knowledge of the subject. Dumouriez left him in anger, and was again without employ, and destitute of hope.

1791.
His engagements
with Mira-
beau.

Soon afterwards a promotion took place, and Dumouriez was advanced to the rank of major-general of the twelfth division^c. It is probable that from the death of Mirabeau he had been endeavouring to ingratiate himself with Orleans, but would not declare himself too openly for fear of frustrating his intended promotion. As soon, however, as he had attained this desired object, he hastened to the Jacobin club, and was graciously received. He now threw off the mask of loyalty, and publicly opposed the king. Montmorin had published, in the king's name, a declaration against the tyranny of the Jacobins; Dumouriez produced and read in their hall a counter-declaration, under

Returns to
the Jacobins.

^c The French army was composed of twenty-two divisions; Dumouriez was only general of a division, not general in the army.

the name of "A Diplomatic Memorial," which was enthusiastically applauded. The rage of advising had not left him; and on a proposal being made at the Jacobins to cashier all the officers in the army, and permit the foldiers to elect new ones, he drew up "A Military Memorial," and read it to the club; but they treated it with little respect, and the majority disavowed the sentiments it contained.

19th June.
Arrives at
Nantz.

After some delays, Dumouriez repaired to Nantz, and owing to the advanced age of one major-general, and the absence of the other, the sole command of the twelfth division, which extended over five departments, devolved on him. Immediately on his arrival, he went to the Jacobin club, which he characterises by the terms numerous and infernal. His attention met with the most flattering return, for he was presented with a civic crown, *even, as he modestly expresses himself, before he had deserved it.* A decree of the assembly permitted the foldiers to visit these societies; Dumouriez prevailed on the officers to go there also. He highly praises himself for this measure, which seems only calculated to frustrate every attempt to oppose the ascendancy of the party to which he was attached.

Behaviour
on the
king's
flight.

The epoch of his arrival was remarkable; it preceded, by two days only, the unfortunate flight of Louis XVI. When the couriers arrived at Nantz with the news, all the public bodies assembled at the Mint; Dumouriez was summoned, and repaired thither. He reached the place with some difficulty, owing to the crowd. "General," said the president, "the king of France is gone; he has fled." "If he be gone," answered Dumouriez, "the nation still remains. Let us deliberate on what is proper to be done." Some persons proposed to put all the officers under arrest. This was prevented by the general, who guaranteed their fidelity with this extraordinary observation: "I will take charge of them myself; and in the space of two hours
" you

"you shall either be assured of their fidelity to their country, or I shall disencumber you of them without violence. Leave this to me." Thus by one bold exertion he acquired despotic power over all the officers, and left them abjectly at his mercy, and without resource.

Dumouriez presented to his officers this alternative; either to take an oath which he would prescribe, or to leave the place with passports which he would provide for them. The officers could have no confidence in such passports, and therefore in three hours assembled and took the required oath. He does not specify what this oath was, but there was no mention whatever of the king^d.

Proposes
an oath.

He next dispatched letters to Barrere, and another member of the assembly, informing them, "that without waiting for further orders, he was about to assemble as many troops as possible, with a design to march to the succour of the constituent assembly; for it was there only he could now look for that country which Louis had abandoned, after having within the last fortnight again renewed his oaths, and that, too, without being asked to do so." This was the most encouraging letter which the assembly had received from any general officer, and excited proportionate raptures and applause.

His letters
to the as-
sembly.

Dumouriez, in the mean time, wrote to the commandants of the different detachments under his orders, recommending to them the oaths he had taken and enforced, and added, "That *on one side* was to be found true honor, patriotism, and virtue, while, *on the other*, nothing was to be hoped for but opprobrium, cowardice, and perjury." He went, the same day, to the Jacobin club, where he threw down his cross of St. Louis, exclaiming, that

Violence
against the
king.

^d Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 33. The general himself barely says it was oath of obedience to the nation and the law.

he would not wear the favors of a tyrant and despot. A person of the name of Benoiton, president of the department of Nantz, picked it up, and restored it to him *in the name of his country*, after having disgraced the military ornament with the three-colored riband, or, in other words, with the livery of the duke of Orleans*.

Intended
march to
Paris.

But these steps were only preparatory to the grand part which Dumouriez had projected. He resolved to go to Paris, and, for that purpose, had collected eight thousand troops, who were prepared to march the next day; but this design was prevented by the capture of the king. He did not stay at Nantz long after this.

July.
Leaves
Nantz.

From Nantz he went to Rochelle, and from thence to Fontenay-le-Comte, the capital of la Vendée, where the violence of the democrats had already sown the seeds of that dreadful civil war which afterwards broke out. He employed himself, according to his own account, in conciliatory measures, and drew a memorial, with a sketch of a decree on the subject. During his stay at Rochelle, he took some unwarrantable liberties with the military chest, and embroiled himself with the minister of justice. Involved in debt, and out of favor both with the Jacobins and aristocrats, he found it necessary soon to retreat to Niort, the capital *des deux Sevres*, another department under his command. It is necessary, however, to mention, that during his continuance in la Vendée he formed an intimacy with Genfonné, which had a great influence on his succeeding adventures.

His me-
morial to
the king.

In the winter he fixed his abode at Niort, where he was registered a citizen, and was, during a month, president of the Jacobin club. He was again

* Dumouriez Unmasked, p. 35, 36. As Dumouriez has wholly omitted to mention this transaction of the military cross, and still continues to wear it, I have related the fact in the very words of my author M. de Viette.

seized

feized with the rage of advising, and he took an extraordinary measure for a Jacobin president, the motives for which I shall relate in his own words. "He was persuaded that the terrible fault committed by Louis, *after having twice perjured himself*, would serve as a lesson to him; that his heart would be melted with the *generosity of the French*, who had restored to him a crown, which he had forfeited by the letter and spirit of that very constitution which he himself had sworn to obey; he that would look upon this event as a species of happiness, which would, at length, unite the minds of all men, and cause, first confidence and good faith, and afterwards love and order, to succeed to the intrigues, the conspiracies, the hatred, and the discord which had reigned until then^f." He accordingly transmitted to the king, through his friend Laporte, a long memorial relative to his future conduct. This memorial was divided into eight parts, and affected to guide the king in politics, benevolence, religion, and private life. But the impertinence of advice did not end there; the indefatigable monitor announced eight other memorials, and demanded, if the king should be pleased with his labors, leave of absence, that he might return and finish the whole at Paris. "He considered this as a touchstone of the king's real intentions; if he were recalled, he should then be sure that his memorial had made a profound impression, and that Louis was, in reality, determined to support himself by means of the constitution: on the contrary, if a continuation of his counsels was not demanded, he should then be inclined to doubt all his former hopes, and predict nothing henceforth but misfortunes." The king received this memorial, as he

^f This paragraph is from the pen of the *fai-disant* royalist Dumouriez. I do not think that more falsities, misrepresentations, and malignant perversions are to be found in so small a compass, in any of the manifestoes of the regicides.

did those of Rouyer, and many others equally impertinent; he made marginal notes, and put it in his iron closet.

Jan. 1792.
Made
lieutenant-
general.

Sent for to
Paris.

A war was now generally expected, and Dumouriez became a lieutenant-general, by seniority, from the prevalence of emigration. This promotion detached him from the division, and he was at liberty to have returned to Paris, but remained at Niort for fear of his creditors. While he was in this situation, M. de Lessart, minister for foreign affairs, being informed of his intimacy with Genfonné, who was a member of the diplomatic committee, and one of the minister's most inveterate persecutors, imagined that the general might be of service to him. Dumouriez had solicited an employment in the diplomatic line, when de Lessart requested his presence, and sent six thousand livres (262 *l.* 10 *s.*) to pay his debts in Poitou. On his arrival in Paris, Dumouriez readily undertook to secure the assistance of Genfonné and all his co-adjutors, and actually prevailed on him to pledge himself to this effect to the minister. He had the address to induce de Lessart to pay his remaining debts, which amounted to a considerable sum; he then coincided with the views of those who suggested that it would be easier to supplant than support the minister, and left him to his fate^b.

When

^b Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 117 to 120. M. de Lessart came into administration after the retreat of Necker. At first he was comptroller general of finances, afterwards minister for foreign affairs, during the sitting of the legislative assembly. The minister at the court of Vienna, M. de Noailles, transmitted his dispatches to de Lessart, who regularly communicated them to Brissot, who was at the head of the diplomatic committee. Brissot having obtained, amongst other papers, a copy of a letter from prince Kaunitz, in which the Jacobins were treated with disrespect, and the king described as a prisoner, he procured a decree of accusation against de Lessart. The reasons assigned for this measure were, that he had omitted to give notice to the assembly of the combination formed by foreign powers against the liberty of France; that he had not pressed the measures which were proper for the safety and defence of the nation; that he
had

When Brissot procured the decree of accusation against de Lessart, Dumouriez had solicited, and, as he pretends, obtained from M. de Narbonne a promise of the command of the southern army; but I consider this a mere pretence, as there is no room to doubt the truth of M. Bertrand's statement, that the appointment of minister of foreign affairs was expressly designated for him, in order to aid the views of the Jacobins, who were determined for war. On the arrest of de Lessart, the king, knowing the futility of the charges against him, and supposing that his confinement would be temporary, sent an offer to Dumouriez of his post *ad interim*. This he refused, adding, that he preferred the command which had been promised. The offer was repeated through the medium of Cahier de Gerville, and again declined: at length the appointment was tendered *sine interim*, and Dumouriez declares that he complied out of pure obedience.

March.
Minister
for foreign
affairs.

When he came into administration, the cabinet consisted only of three persons; one of whom, Cahier de Gerville, had declared his determination to resign. The first object, therefore, was to name a new ministry. Dumouriez, in a private audience, prepared the king to expect a Jacobin cabinet, and one of that description was soon appointed. Dumouriez recommended Lacoste for the marine department; Duranton minister of justice, Claviere minister of contributions, and Roland minister of the home department, were recommended by their respective friends in the Jacobin faction.

Forma-
tion of a
ministry.

The day after his appointment, Dumouriez paid homage to the Jacobins, by repairing to their hall and putting on the *red cap*, that signal of anti-roy-

Goes to
the Jaco-
bins.

had given to prince Kaunitz information on the situation of the kingdom, calculated to impress untrue ideas; that he had *meanly sued for peace*; and had refused to obey the decrees of the assembly. He was conveyed under a strong guard to Orleans, and massacred by a hired mob at Versailles, together with the rest of the prisoners.

alism and rebellion. He affects to attribute this to mistake, but if there was any mistake, it consisted in displaying his principles too openly, and rendering dissimulation more difficult.

His conduct to the king.

On his entrance into administration, he seems to have set himself absolutely above the king, to have undervalued his judgment, thwarted his views, and exerted himself in narrowing his influence. I shall select from his own Memoirs a few instances in which he displayed this disposition. Petion, the personal opponent of the king, applied for an allowance of thirty thousand livres (1312 *l.* 10 *s.*) per month, under pretence of expending it on the police. The king represented that Petion was his enemy, and would spend the money in circulating libels against him. Dumouriez treated this well-founded objection as a prejudice; he insisted that the money should be granted, and that if an ill use was made of it in one month, it should be then withheld. The king was obliged to comply with this insidious proposal, and the use made of the money by Petion verified the king's prediction. Dumouriez made no more payments, but the evil was already done: Petion's libels were become palatable, and Roland found it his interest to have new ones daily printed under his own roof. But while the powers of the Jacobin faction were thus increasing; while the sums at the disposal of the ministers for secret services were applied for the purpose of acquiring new adherents to their cause, Dumouriez applied all his efforts to reduce the king's power of retaining affection or rewarding fidelity. With those who affect to regulate the actions of a government by abstract principles; who judge of right and wrong between the rulers and the ruled, by an inflexible system, without making allowance for the wants, the pride, and the weaknesses of men, the following acts of Dumouriez, which I hesitate not to censure, will be considered as meritorious and patriotic. He made

made a general reform of the pensions in his department, and divided them into three classes, the third of which he describes thus : " The pensions granted by mere favor, or without any claim on the score of diplomatic services, or engagements with France ; for example, M. Dogny, formerly *intendant-general* of the post-office, a man with an income of more than two hundred thousand livres (8750 *l.*), had a pension of thirty thousand livres (1312 *l.* 10 *s.*) a-year out of the secret service money. He instantly, and without scruple, cancelled all these *unjust* pensions, and with a single stroke of his pen gained between six and seven hundred thousand livres (between 26,000 *l.* and 30,000 *l.*) for his department. *He had courage enough to resist the king's repugnance on this occasion,* and, when the business was once finished, his majesty was extremely well pleased with it." It would have been more candid to have said, that the king, ever patient of insults, submitted with a good grace to the new privation, which, as it affected others, he felt more sensibly. The case of M. Dogny, supposing it to be true, is very artfully put ; but in this instance, as in that of the red book, no mention is made of many persons who had no other recompence for essential, and perhaps hazardous services, and no other means of subsistence. Amongst other methods of increasing the king's adherents, which the exertions of his adversaries rendered necessary, Montmorin and de Lessart had prevailed on him to nominate successors to all the ministers in foreign courts : Dumouriez suppressed these double nominations ; he states the produce of his reforms at a million (43,750 *l.*) ; but the injury they did to the royal cause is incalculable, nor can the assertions of pretended patriotism and philosophy give a false colour to his motives.

He extended his reforms and economy to various other branches of his department ; and reduced his

His conduct in office.

own appointments from one hundred and fifty thousand (6562 *l.*) to one hundred and twenty thousand livres (5687 *l.* 10 *s.*). But before he made this reduction, he obtained from the assembly a decree allowing six millions (262,500 *l.*) for secret service money, which was not to be accounted for. This allowance had been applied for by former ministers, but constantly refused. His confidential agent in office was Bonne Carrere, whom he nominated director-general. This man was a gambler by profession, and a person of great intrigue among the women. Dumouriez did not esteem him the less for these qualities, and persisted in retaining him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his colleagues and the reproaches of the public.

20th Apr.
War de-
creed.

The first effective operation of Dumouriez's ministry was the denunciation of war against the emperor. The great fault imputed to preceding ministers had been the avoiding of this measure, which the Jacobins wished to precipitate as the sole means of consolidating and increasing their power. The eagerness of Dumouriez was better suited to their views^b: he pressed the king to send another ambassador instead of M. de Noailles, and to write to the emperor in such a style as would compel a declaration. Before the delivery of this letter, a courier arrived from M. de Noailles, with a letter which Dumouriez communicated to the assembly, and obtained a repeal of the decree of accusation which had been passed against M. de Noailles. He then drew up a report to the assembly, in consequence of which, after a long discussion, war was unanimously decreed.

Differences
in the ca-
binet.

Before this period, there had been some dissensions between the members of administration. They had, at first, agreed very well; but Roland and Claviere soon began to entertain jealousies of Dumouriez,

^b Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 2. Moore's View, &c.

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